DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 078 977 RC 007 084

AUTHOR Merkin, Donald H.
TITLE Ethnic Differences in Mobility Attitudes: A Comparison of Mexican American and Anglo Female High School Students.
PUB DATE Jan 72
NOTE 69p.; Master's Thesis, Colorado State University, Fort Collins

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS *Anglo Americans; Attitudes; Cultural Differences; *Females; *High School Students; Literature Reviews; Masters Theses; *Mexican Americans; *Mobility; Occupational Aspiration

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to determine whether differences in mobility attitudes existed between Anglo and Mexican American female high school students. The variables used to determine this were (1) socio-economic status, (2) world view, (3) homemaking-work orientation, and (4) level of occupational aspiration. The sample consisted of 339 junior and senior girls (177 Anglos and 162 Mexican Americans) from 11 high schools in Colorado. All the participating schools were located in socially and economically depressed areas, with a seasonal agricultural base, chronic out-migration, and poverty. Data were collected by a 26-page questionnaire administered under the supervision of trained graduate students. The students were given an hour to complete the questionnaire, but they were permitted additional time if needed since the emphasis was on completeness of response instead of speed. The findings showed the 2 groups to be almost identical for levels of occupational aspiration; middle status Mexican Americans to be "less active" in their world view; lower status Mexican Americans to be oriented towards outside employment while lower status Anglos preferred homemaking; and socio-economic status to be the only major distinction between the groups. (NQ)

FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY

ED 078977

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

THESIS

ETHNIC DIFFERENCES IN MOBILITY ATTITUDES: A COMPARISON OF MEXICAN AMERICAN AND ANGLO FEMALE HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

Submitted by

Donald H. Merkin

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the Degree of Master of Science

Colorado State University

Fort Collins, Colorado

January, 1972

LIBRARIES
COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY
FORT COLLINS, COLORADO

0007084

HF5381
M47

COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY

February 3 19 72

WE HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER OUR SUPERVISION

BY Donald H. Merkin

ENTITLED Ethnic Differences in Mobility Attitudes: A Comparison of Mexican American and Anglo Female High School Students

BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING IN PART REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

Master of Science

Committee on Graduate Work

Adviser

Head of Department

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

ETHNIC DIFFERENCES IN MOBILITY ATTITUDES: A COMPARISON OF MEXICAN AMERICAN AND ANGLO FEMALE HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

The problem was to determine whether differences in mobility attitudes existed between female high school students from two culturally distinct ethnic groups in Colorado.

A nonrandom sample of 339 junior and senior girls representing Anglo and Mexican American ethnic backgrounds were tested in the spring of 1970 and their responses compared across the following four variables which together comprise each group's "mobility profile": 1) socio-economic status, 2) world view, 3) homemaking-work orientation, and 4) level of occupational aspiration.

It was felt that females have been likewise neglected in the sociological literature, and that substantive research is needed to gauge the validity of the stereotype that has arisen about their outlooks and aspirations.

The theoretical literature suggested that socialization of the female in the Mexican American home differed significantly from that in the Anglo family, and implied that attitudinal orientations toward homemaking, employment, and self-determination varied accordingly.

The socio-economic differential was the only major distinction that could be made between the two groups. Fifty-seven per cent of the Mexican Americans were found to be lower status, while 55 per cent of the Anglos fell within the middle range of the status scale used. The relationship was in the direction predicted.

When socio-economic status was controlled, statistically significant differences with regard to world view and homemaking-work orientation disappeared, except for the following cases:

1) Middle status Mexican Americans were "less active" in their world view than were middle status Anglos.

2) Lower status Mexican Americans were oriented toward outside employment, while lower status Anglos preferred homemaking.

The finding with respect to world view was in the predicted direction, although it was not clear why it held up only in the middle status group (and not in the lower and upper).

Perhaps most interesting is that the finding concerning homemaking-work orientation was opposite to that predicted; i.e., we had been led to believe that the Mexican American female has traditionally been socialized as a homemaker and would consequently be less interested in outside employment than her Anglo counterpart (who assumedly has more options). This finding may reflect a realistic reappraisal of the Mexican American female role in the light of economic hardship and expanding opportunities for women of all backgrounds.

The two ethnic groups were shown to be almost identical with regard to levels of occupational aspiration, a very intriguing finding given their diverse cultural heritages, socio-economic strata, and the opportunity structures in their communities and in the society at large.

With the exception of socio-economic status, the two ethnic groups were shown to be remarkably alike according to the profiles created.

Donald H. Merkin
Sociology Department
Colorado State University
Fort Collins, Colorado 80521
January, 1972

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my gratitude to the following persons who freely donated their time, expertise, and patience during the dark hours of this project.

Special appreciation is owed Professor Emmit F. Sharp, Chairman of my committee and sponsor of the research from which this thesis was derived. Our many discussions and discouragements, all punctuated with methodological wisdom (and occasional humor) have served to build a friendship which I hope will last for years to come. I know that our association has made me less of a fledgling sociologist, and has left me with great respect and affection for Dr. Sharp.

To the other members of my committee, Professor Bert Ellenbogen and Professor Ross Loomis, I wish to say thank you for your considered and insightful criticism and guidance, especially during those times when I seemed to be adrift. I hope I have done your confidence justice.

Paul Delgado, a fellow graduate student at Colorado State University, devoted many hours and considerable energy to the execution of the project, and he well deserves my appreciation. He is also a fine friend.

To Craig Brown, who spent long nights desperately cleaning up our data during the initially abortive computer runs, I am grateful and indebted.

To Cherryl Brown, Linda Weinman, and Peggy Laswell, my transient "typing pool", I wish to record my appreciation.

And to my wonderful wife, Carol, who was there through it all with welcome advice, support, and assistance, I record my love. You may have a degree in sociology, but thank goodness you took typing in high school.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
CHAPTER 1	INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 2	THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE.....	6
	Assumptions.....	6
	Cultural Absorption.....	7
	The Acquisition of Mobility Attitudes.....	8
	The Mexican American People..	10
	Socialization in the Mexican American Home.....	12
	World View.....	17
	Homemaking-Work Orientation and Level of Occupational Aspiration.....	20
	Hypotheses.....	23
CHAPTER 3	METHODOLOGY.....	24
	Source and Collection of Data	24
	The Interview Schedule.....	25
	Definition of Variables.....	26
	Ethnic Identity.....	26
	Socio-economic Status.....	26
	World View.....	27
	Homemaking-Work Orientation	28
	Levels of Occupational Aspiration.....	28
CHAPTER 4	ANALYSIS OF DATA.....	29
	Socio-economic status.....	29
	World View.....	31
	Homemaking-Work Orientation .	34
	Levels of Occupational Aspiration	37

		Page
CHAPTER 5	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.....	41
	Socio-economic Status.....	41
	World View.....	42
	Homemaking-Work Orientation..	44
	Level of Occupational Aspiration.....	46
BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES.....		52
APPENDIX	INDICATORS AND SCALES.....	60

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Characteristics of Participating Schools	25
2	Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Ethnic Group and Socio-economic status.....	29
3	Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Ethnic Group and Grouped SES Scores.....	30
4	Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Ethnic Group and World View Score.....	31
5	Summary Table: World View Controlling SES.....	32
6	Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Ethnic Group and Home-making-Work Orientation.....	35
7	Summary Table: Homemaking-Work Orientation Controlling SES.....	36
8	Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Ethnic Group and Level of Occupational Aspiration.....	38
9	Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Ethnic Group and Grouped Level of Occupational Aspiration Scores.	39
10	Summary Table: Level of Occupational Aspiration Controlling SES.....	40

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The demands of living in a pluralistic society are such that people often attempt to simplify their relationships with others by standardizing the images that they hold according to some set of judgemental criteria. The temptation to do this is especially acute when dealing with members of a socially visible minority (e.g., women, Blacks, the Spanish-speaking) for whom effort must be expended in order to understand them and thus to allay suspicion and fear. Frequently, these images consist of real and illusory differences in sub-populations which together shape our uninformed stereotypes.

The concept of social visibility is crucial here, for it is a direct consequence of the society's stratification hierarchy whereby groups are ranked according to differential prestige and reward. The ranking is usually a function of socio-economic status, but it correlates strongly with ethnic, religious, racial and even sexual membership. Not infrequently does a group's visibility contribute to inequality, since in many cases it forms the substrate for self-fulfilling prophesy. For example, if a situation is falsely defined such that Mexican Americans are viewed as unmotivated or indolent, and denied opportunities for advancement and education, the original argument becomes credible. Only recently have people begun to question the impact of the opportunity structure on achievement, rather than simply comparing indices of performance. It is probable that attitudes and values predispose action, irrespective of the opportunities available in a society, however.

The social context of attitudes and values has been the subject of considerable attention (Parsons, 1951; Rosen, 1956, 1959; Kahl and Davis,

1955; Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961; Goode, 1963; Gordon, 1964; Kahl, 1965; Hyman, 1966; Redfield, 1967.) Great attention has been given the temporal and systemic linkages between achievement orientation and subsequent performance or attainment (cf. Sewell et al, 1969; Warner and DeFleur, 1969; Han, 1969; Rehberg et al, 1970.) Only the most rigid structural determinists denigrate the importance of attitudinal orientations toward achievement, contending that they are inconsequential because institutions alone shape men's destinies. It would seem that both social structure and individual attributes contribute, albeit with different weights under various circumstances, to the probability of socio-economic mobility within a given system. We are frequently stymied by the complexity of political, economic, psychological, and social influences operating to produce or perpetuate inequality, and the assessment of relative weights is difficult indeed.

In this thesis, I have elected to examine a population of female high school juniors and seniors at one point in time who are members of two culturally different groups, that of the "Mexican American" ethnic heritage and that of the "Anglo American." It was felt that high school juniors and seniors and, more specifically, female students representing diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds can be an informative research population since their status is the product of their socialization in the home and in the community, while their potential as contented and self-fulfilled human beings is on the verge of being crystallized. This group of young women, having survived attrition due to academic failure, pregnancy, or premature death are nearing graduation from high school and are pressed to decide upon higher education, marriage, employment or some combination of these options. Aside from the forementioned characteristics of this group, the following makes this population somewhat unique

for purposes of comparative analysis: (1) the Mexican American girls are members of a multiple minority, one based upon ethnicity, the other upon their sex; and (2) the Anglo girls may be thought to represent the dominant ethnic group in terms of absolute numbers, political decision-making, wealth, and social values and attitudes, although they too are a minority based upon their sex. Perhaps what is most important here is that the Mexican Americans are either immigrants or the descendents of immigrants who came to the United States within the past three or four generations.

When we look at a social system, how do we distinguish its components? Virtually no large society is entirely homogeneous and certain characteristics of individuals or groups enable differentiation. These characteristics may be entirely arbitrary and serve no readily apparent function or they may result from definite biases on the part of the "dominant" observer. Hair or eye color may be deemed irrelevant while skin pigmentation, language, or sexual characteristics may matter a great deal. The main point is that groups can be and are differentiated on the basis of real or imagined traits and relationships between groups are often premised upon such conditions.

The Mexican American represents a distinct ethnic group for a number of reasons. Spanish has been maintained as a strong second language, family patterns have tended to persist, and in many ways the Mexican American has shown a reluctance to abandon his cultural ties for those of the dominant Anglo society. This phenomenon of what may be considered institutionalized resistance to full integration has been conspicuous.

In the following chapter, I intend to discuss what Jansen (1970, 67) suggests when he postulates that,

> Usually, out of the absorption of a large-scale immigration there develops a 'pluralistic' structure or network of sub-

> structure, i.e., a society composed to some extent of different subsystems allocated to different immigrant groups.

If, for purposes of discussion, we can assume that integration of system components is functional for society at large, at least in terms of efficiency and productivity, then where integration is incomplete we can expect conflict. The process by which integration occurs has been considered vital to our understanding of historical as well as current events, and a number of approaches toward this end have been fruitful.

Kahl (1965) cites two approaches which have been used to define collective cultural attributes for comparative purposes. Each shares much in common with the other, and the two approaches seem more the product of different viewpoints than distinct conceptual underpinnings. The first, promulgated by Weber, uses "ideal types" as the starting point in reducing complex events to manageable clusters of characteristics, often culminating in polar distinctions between the ideal and the real. The second approach, which Kahl acknowledges to be the one currently popular, seeks to "divide the ideal type into its component attributes and conceive of them as varying independently with one another." Instead of generating a simple dichotomous polar type, the new approach produces "a set of 'profiles', each of which is defined by a particular combination of attributes."

It is this latter approach which is attempted here. We shall attempt to construct a "profile" of the two ethnic groups from a select group of variables which may be thought to be aspects of mobility orientation and possible avenues to cultural integration (acculturation).

There is general agreement that such verified knowledge about the Mexican American ethnic minority is lacking, and the same can be said of

the female in the United States. This thesis is in part meant to clarify the issues and to dispel some of the uninformed stereotypes which have flourished in the absence of factual information regarding the experience of Mexican American and female marginality in contemporary society.

We shall first attempt to determine the collective nature of the research population with respect to socio-economic status (based upon the prestige of the girls' fathers' occupations), world view (or relative activity or passivity within their environments), homemaking-work orientation (or the relative emphasis placed upon homemaking and employment outside the family setting), and level of occupational aspiration (or the relative level of prestige and thus, life style) sought by the girls, either through their own employment or via their prospective husbands' occupations. Once the overall population has been described, comparisons will be made between the two ethnic groups with respect to the same variables mentioned above to determine the nature of dissimilarity, if any, and to relate the findings to what we know of the two groups from prior research and to gain some insight into the probable futures of these young women.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In this chapter the conceptual orientation pursued in the literature relating to mobility attitudes and ethnic differentiation is discussed. The literature available on achievement orientation is reviewed, with particular emphasis on research pertinent to Mexican Americans and to females. Based on existing knowledge, hypothesis relating to ethnic group membership and sex-group membership are formulated for testing.

Assumptions

While the broad objective of this thesis has been briefly sketched in Chapter I, it is exploratory and intended to stimulate discussion about differences between sub-populations which are defined as real by the dominant group and therefore bear on the assimilative potential of those in the minority.

Let us take the existence of some degree of prejudice and discrimination as given; we shall assume that it exists and that it can in part be measured by such indicators as levels of living, expectation of life, morbidity patterns, occupational mobility, and membership in voluntary organizations. In other words, some set of characteristics make particular groups socially visible and lead to differentials in social participation and in their quality of life.

In assuming, for example, the ubiquity of the achievement value across all ethnic groups in the United States, we must be cautious in specifying the intensity with which the value is held. Furthermore, simply possessing an intense desire for mobility or the means to mobility

does not guarantee attainment of the goal, for the pay-off for effort is not the same for all groups. It is not unreasonable to assume that some minimal amount of motivation is necessary for mobility, however defined or formidable the obstacles to it.

Finally, it is assumed that some modicum of cultural integration is prerequisite for mobility within a society which is characterized by great diversity among its ethnic, racial, religious, geographic, and political constituents, for preferences must be communicated through channels which are intelligible to all concerned parties.

Cultural Absorption

It is advantageous at this point to introduce Eisenstadt's (1954) framework of the absorption of immigrants. He conceived of cultural integration as a step-wise process progressing through three major phases: (1) acculturation, whereby new roles, norms, and values are learned and internalized; (2) personal adjustment, such that the individuals fit their perceptions to the new realities with minimum dissonance such as suicide, crime, and other problematic indices of disorganization and anomie; and (3) institutional dispersion, or the mechanism which distributes the immigrants throughout the institutional apparatus, preventing their clustering in any one sector of the polity or economy. There is a gradient here which contains both formal and informal give-and-take between the dominant society and those attempting to gain full-absorption within it. This thesis is looking at the first phase whereby the new group is acculturated.

Gordon (1964) offers a more refined framework of cultural absorption, suggesting that it consists of: (1) cultural change; (2) an interchange

of primary relationships between the dominant and the entering groups; (3) miscegenation; (4) insipient nationalism; (5) congruence between the dominant and entering group with respect to "value and power in public and civic life"; (6) a lack of discrimination by the dominant group toward the minority; and (7) the diminution of prejudicial attitudes among the dominant group. The process may not be sequential, and one or more of the steps may or may never occur nor proceed to any other.

Jansen (1970) asserts that the above approaches must be viewed within the context of one of three possible "goal systems": (1) full adaptation of the entering group by the dominant group; (2) synthesis of both groups resulting in a culture different from either of the components (the "melting pot" concept); or (3) cultural pluralism, whereby dissimilar cultures co-exist while at the same time maintaining separate identities.

The Acquisition of Mobility Attitudes

Wilson (1966, 335) describes the role played by socialization of diverse value sets within different socio-economic strata as follows,

> Members of different...strata, as groups, adhere to differing values which reinforce their respective statuses...(and) through familial socialization and divergent perception of their opportunities these aspirations are transmitted to the younger generation. ...the social inheritance of such values and attitudes tends to inhibit social mobility.

Hyman (1966, 488) suggests that the lower socio-economic strata possess "a system of beliefs and values...which...reduces the very voluntary actions which would ameliorate their low position."

Rehberg (1970) cites Rosen, who writes,

> Social classes in American society are characterized by a dissimilar concern with achievement, particularly as it is

> expressed in the striving for status through social mobility. It is hypothesized that social classes possess to a disparate extent...a cultural factor consisting of certain value orientations which define and implement achievement motivated behavior... Their incidence...is greater among persons in the middle class than those in the lower class.

It is appropriate here that a distinction is made between what have been termed "attitudes" and "values". While both terms share much in common and are often interchanged, Kluckhohn's (1962) distinctions will apply. Attitude is defined as an existential proposition (e.g., "Planning for the future is a waste of time since fate determines what will happen anyway.") Value represents a normative statement, a "conception of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action" (e.g., "Thou shall not steal.") For present purposes, an attitude is the more general term, taken to imply the value. That is, an individual's attitude reflects his social psychological orientation toward some entity which is normatively desirable or undesirable.

Along these lines, then, Rehberg (1970) defines mobility attitudes as,

> ...those predispositions toward aspects of the social and physical environment which either increase or decrease an individual's probability of maintaining or attaining a social position of high prestige.

It is suggested that different ethnic groups representing diverse socio-economic classes possess mobility attitudes toward achieving higher status in varying amounts. If mobility is a value, then the appropriate attitudes toward achieving higher status may be expected to range from very weak to very intense. Consequently, individuals and their groups can in part be differentiated by their attitudes toward achievement.

The Mexican American People

Heller (1966, 4) cites Bogue's analysis of the 1950 Census from which it was concluded that,

> ...of all ethnic groups in the United States, the Mexican Americans constitute the only ethnic group for which a comparison of the first and second generation fails to show a substantial intergenerational rise in socio-economic status.

The Mexican Americans have received comparatively little empirical attention in the sociological literature, while what does exist has been largely ethnographic. Mexican Americans represent the second largest ethnic minority in the United States, and the largest in the American Southwest, with over 3.5 million persons scattered throughout Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. One tenth of the total population of the Southwest is Mexican American, ranging from nine per cent of the population of Colorado to twenty-eight per cent of New Mexico.

Numerous stereotypes have attempted to characterize what it is about being Mexican American that leads to marginality within Anglo society. He has been depicted as possessing attitudes and values which are inimical to mobility: inordinate stress on family ties (where geographical mobility is associated with renunciation of family obligations), flamboyant masculinity (or, machismo, which implies a reluctance to practice family planning), affective subjugation to Nature (and therefore passivity in the face of challenge), excessive pride, lack of ambition, irresponsibility, and an inability to defer gratification. There is little factual testimony in support of these images linking them to Mexican American values and the quality of the Mexican American culture.

Gonzalez (1967) believes that the Mexican Americans are becoming increasingly concerned with economic achievement, implying that they have

adopted a value which has generally been associated with Anglo society (at least since Weber's The Protestant Ethic). Consequently, Mexican Americans appear to be making gains in higher education, toward the displacement of Spanish by English, "and (by) the adoption of a world view in which people are more often classified on the basis of economic success." In spite of these hypothesized changes, the Mexican Americans have consistently held to their traditional cultural patterns in many respects.

While the Mexican Americans are today an urban population, they have only recently emerged from a rural heritage. Irrespective of their origins, most have faced similar cultural and linguistic problems in making the arduous transition from a folk to an urban setting. It is believed that the obstacles and stresses encountered have tended to erode the solidarity of the traditional family, often resulting in greater divorce and desertion, increased crime and delinquency, and similar problematic indicators of transition and instability.

One possibly significant indicator of the change occurring is the increasing number of Mexican American females who are entering the labor force. Samora (1969, 188) notes that where 22 per cent of the Mexican American females were actively employed in the United States in 1950, 29 per cent were working in 1960. Furthermore, while the number of Mexican American females age 14 and above rose 47 per cent between 1950 and 1960, female labor force participation increased 93 per cent. Samora cautions that while this does represent a significant change within the Mexican American group, their females still do not work as commonly as females in general in the Southwest (30-33 per cent), nor do they work as commonly as non-whites in the Southwest (approximately 40 per cent of all eligible female non-whites in California and in Texas are employed.)

Certainly, when considering female labor force participation, one must remain aware that is simply not a matter of women either choosing to work or to remain at home; the openness of the society to occupational opportunities for men and women vary from time-to-time and place-to-place as the economy fluctuates or as new attitudes and values and norms emerge. Furthermore, the type of employment, the remuneration, the duration of employment, and other such factors must be taken into account.

In this instance, however, I have elected to focus on the possibility that the increased participation of Mexican American females in employment is especially noteworthy because of her traditional familial socialization.

Socialization in the Mexican American Home

Heller (1966, 34-35) contends that the variety of socialization practiced in the Mexican American home inhibits rather than facilitates mobility in today's urban, industrialized society. While the male is socialized for the world, the female is socialized for the home. Sex-based differentiation in the Mexican American culture dictates that the female be accorded inferior status to the male, and this is reflected in her role expectations. Heller believes that this traditional posture is beginning to weaken, providing women with greater freedom of choice, although more "a product of the adolescent girl's revolt against female confinement at home" than new patterns of socialization.

Goode (1963, 54) incorporates the problem of female status-role disparity within the broader context of rising world-wide egalitarianism,

> ...when the status of the female changes, so does that of the male; if the woman gains greater rights of choice and

> decision in many areas, the male must necessarily lose some of his former power in those same areas.

Goode observes that power is not readily relinquished in any event, and especially within the family, men have traditionally been reluctant to concede their power to women.

While Parsons (1964) plays down the existence of sex-based status in the Anglo home, Turner (1964, 215-216) believes that "most of the same values which differentiate strata also differentiate men from women, and each family unit incorporates some heterogeneity in class values through its division into male and female roles."

Lewis (1949) notes that,

> Sex, along with age, class and race, is one of the foci around which societies are structured, and elaborate systems of status and right are rooted in these basic categories. Social roles are differentiated in accordance with them, and 'appropriate' patterns of conduct assigned.

There can be little doubt that the expanding entry of Mexican American women into the labor force will have important social and economic repercussions. Concomitant with female employment come dramatic changes in sex-roles, in family patterns, in economies, and in the decision-making activities of both sexes. The Mexican American female as has already been pointed out suffers under the burden of two disadvantages; she is socialized into a passive, domestic, subordinate role virtually non-competitive with the male. Her "place" has unquestionably been at home, cooking and bearing children which, among other things, testifies to her mate's virility. Problems pursuant to regular employment often did not arise, for the male was the unequivocal breadwinner upon whom the woman and the children depended. But the labor statistics seem to suggest that the Mexican American female is no longer as ready to assume her domestic role; she is increasingly seeking outside employment,

bringing home a pay-check, assuming new roles, and we can surmise that a Pandora's Box has been opened. The working female is less dependent, she has less time for childbearing and raising, she has increased contact with others, and she acquires new tastes, knowledge, and aspirations for herself and her family which make her competitive in terms of prestige, life style, earning capacity, and mobility. She is forced to concede some of her traditional attitudes and values and often to substitute those of the Anglo society in which she has chosen to take a more conspicuous place.

Quoting Simmons, Heller (1966, 34-35) postulates that "(we find) no motivation to mobility in the occupational structure (of Mexican Americans) since equivalent satisfactions are obtained from sources within the group." The evidence in support of this is tenuous, at best. There is little doubt that socialization within the Mexican American culture has historically reinforced the group and provided it with a formidable resistance to disintegration, but it has also precluded active participation in the dominant culture and the enjoyment of the myriad educational, economic, medical, and social benefits otherwise hypothetically available to them.

Shannon (1968,34) astutely notes, however, that,

> Members of the larger Anglo society more often than not assume that if education, work experience and high levels of aspiration lead to economic success among Anglos, they should lead to the same kind of success among Mexican Americans, Negroes, or any other ethnic or racial group. Appropriately motivated (from the Anglo viewpoint) members of these groups may find that demands from within their own group as well as constraints imposed by the larger society make it difficult to take full advantage of the educational and economic opportunities known to them.

Malry (1968) found that while a high percentage of youth from Anglo, Mexican American, and Negro homes had high levels of aspiration, the

lowest levels were from Mexican American high school students in the sample. Malry also found an inverse relationship between social class and relative level of aspiration, and a direct relationship between social class and absolute levels of educational and occupational aspiration. The Mexican American females were generally oriented toward "technical or clerical jobs requiring less than a college education."

Kuvlesky and Patella (1970) found that Mexican American high school sophomores failed to show the hypothesized inverse relationship between degree of identification with the Mexican American culture and desire for upward intergenerational mobility.

Turner (1964, 95-96) proposes that,

> ...the view that background leads to class values which cause ambition is least supportable. By contrast, the data fit best the anticipatory socialization pattern, with ambition as the intervening variable between background and class values.

There is a question of interpretation when studying female ambition and aspiration, for it is possible that a number of the girls do not actively seek to attain their specified aspirations through their own employment, but through their husbands' occupational attainments. For example, a female who asserts that she wishes to become a physician may be signifying a desire to marry a mate who is located within that prestige range.

Rehberg (1970) found "minimal correlations of mobility attitudes with status", congruent with Turner's earlier findings and suggesting that "stratification is no longer, if indeed it ever was, a major source of variation in what others have referred to as 'achievement values'."

Apparently there are some individuals who, irrespective of their class or ethnic or racial backgrounds, would readily surpass their parents in occupational prestige if they were able to fulfill their

aspirations. It is plausible that both structural and attitudinal barriers have in the past been unsuccessfully overcome by Mexican Americans, and this may account in part for Bogue's earlier analysis of the 1950 Census which showed Mexican Americans to have remained relatively immobile between 1940 and 1950. On the other hand, Turner's (1964, 85) discussion of anticipatory socialization shows how members of one social class who aspire to membership in one higher will often adopt the appropriate attitudes and values of the new class before actually attaining membership in it. For this reason, there will sometimes be found members of groups who do not exhibit the expected or characteristic attitudes and values because they are anticipating membership in a group which is more desired. This fact may account for some of the variation in the literature, since one would expect a lag during the period between anticipatory socialization and the entry into the new status during which time attitudes and values might appear incongruent with indices of actual performance. For instance, if we employ current socio-economic indicators in order to gauge the productivity of the Mexican American culture or to sense where it is going, and then compare the performance with the groups' aspirations, a large part of any discrepancy might be due to the time required to accomplish the reforms involved in foresaking tradition and reaching the new goals.

Some persons will be willing to concede traditional attitudes and values more readily than others; some experience anticipatory socialization, while others insist upon retaining what have served in the past. Sanders (1966, 366) comments,

> The Anglo-Americans expect the Mexicans to become just like themselves, if they are to be accorded equal status in the larger society, whereas the Mexican-Americans want

> full acceptance, regardless of the extent to which they give up their own ways and acquire those of the dominant society.

It is the individuals who are seeking improvement for themselves and their families and perhaps their ethnic group who may be said to be experiencing anticipatory socialization and who are the actual participants in the development process. Without organization or extensive group consciousness, these people seek the elimination of the status quo and encourage change which they intend to lead to higher living standards, better neighborhoods for their children to grow up within, economic security, and human dignity.

World View

The manner in which a group of people characteristically look out upon the world which conditions how they experience their daily lives accounts, in part, for the attitudes and values manifest by the group. Such a "world view" is an elusive concept to operationalize because it incorporates so much that is subjective. Redfield (1967) suggests that world view includes,

> ...the conceptions of what ought to be as well as what is ...the characteristic ways in which experiences are kept together or apart...the patterns of thought...and the affective as well as the cognitive aspect of these things also.

World view may include reference to a time dimension, such as the concept of the past or the future, and it may help to explain why some people are active or passive, independent or dependent, or contemplative or impulsive. It is the way in which men view themselves in relation to the universe, whether autonomous or intimate with it. World view symbolizes man's realization that whatever is perceived to exist has

consequences for him, consequences which he must masterfully confront or to which he will be forced to acquiesce.

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) assert that there is a philosophy underlying the way of life of every individual and each relatively homogeneous group. This is, I believe, analagous to Redfield's conception of world view; a philosophy which unifies the cognitive and affective aspects of one's design for living. An important element in this philosophy is value orientation.

Turner (1964) acknowledges that different social classes have different value orientations. Developing on this social fact, Sanders (1966, 105-106) postulates that,

> Given the universe of goals available, or at least open to an individual's or group's cognitive or affective perception, some mechanism for selection must be devised which is instrumental in ranking these in some hierarchy of importance, given that energy and resources toward achievement are not unlimited.

Kluckhohn has defined such a value orientation as "the views of the world...which define the meaning of human life or the 'life situation of man' and thereby provide the context in which day-to-day problems are solved."

The Mexican American has been stereotypically depicted as group-oriented (emphasizing family ties in contrast to individuality), fatalistic (not self-deterministic), subjugated to Nature, and preferring not to defer gratification to a more "appropriate" moment. He prefers a large family to a small one, to view work as a necessary evil rather than as a self-fulfilling endeavor, and the youngsters from Mexican American households are seen as disadvantaged in relation to their Anglo peers. Heller (1966) contends that the Mexican American youth typically comes from a larger family, his socialization includes scant emphasis on

mobility, and he acquires few of these attitudes, values, and orientations in school where his daily world is sorely deficient in achievement models appropriate to success in Anglo society. Consequently, he is often unaware of existing opportunities for educational or occupational assistance. She continues,

> The ethnic identity and sense of group loyalty, however praiseworthy on other grounds, encourage behavior in keeping with traditional values and norms - and these may hamper mobility.

For example, the Mexican American is often under considerable family pressure to remain in his parents' neighborhood or community, preferably next door, for the duration of his parents' lives, in any event. Thus, he or she must foresake educational and occupational opportunities far from home, however attractive they may be. This is unusually important in the Southwest, for many of the Mexican American enclaves are found in relatively undeveloped communities and regions where higher education and good jobs are scarce, necessitating relocation to obtain these things.

Shannon (1968) has demonstrated large and statistically significant differences in world view "when based on race and ethnicity, or race and ethnicity combined with religion and sex..." He qualifies his findings by noting,

> Not all Mexican Americans...have the same definitions of success as do Anglos. Those who do find that the larger society is not organized in such a manner that the payoff comes to them in the same way that it comes to Anglos.

Shannon recognizes the ethnocentric bias inherent in failing to see that "the interrelationship of measures of success such as occupational level and income and assumed success-generating variables such as education and work experience is not the same for Mexican Americans (and for Anglos.)"

Homemaking Work Orientation and Level of Occupational Aspiration

There is little literature pertaining to the amount of time women plan to devote to homemaking in contrast to employment outside the home. It is discussed here because it is seen as a clue to the orientations of each ethnic group with respect to relative emphasis on homemaking and employment in terms of how each group would prefer to be occupied as young women.

The homemaking work orientation is a function of chance circumstances (such as the sudden need to provide additional income to a family unit), actual occupational preferences (one may choose not to marry and to pursue a career), a realistic appraisal of economic necessity (two incomes are better than one), or the desire for self-fulfillment and independence which can be met through various proportions of homemaking and outside employment at the individual's discretion.

Where a group of young women have in the past been socialized into a domestic role, one might expect the current crop of young women to plan their lives along the same lines as their parents encouraged. Or with the increasing movement toward emancipation of certain groups, one might expect these girls to rebel and perhaps seek something quite different from what they had been psychologically channeled into at home.

In the United States there have been increasing numbers of occupations requiring social and clerical skills, but which require neither long periods of training, brute strength, nor prior experience. Haller (1968) believes that the traditional taboos concerning working women have begun to be relaxed, while at the same time many of the domestic chores have been simplified by electrical appliances.

Some women assume an occupation on a regular basis, while others vacillate between homemaking and employment several times during their lives. "Girls in high school are expected to spend almost 25 years of their adult lives in remunerative work" (Haller, 1968: 150).

Level of occupational aspiration has received considerable attention in the literature. Its utility as an indicator of probable life style and subsequent attainment has been widely assumed, although Kuvlesky and Bealer (1967) demonstrated a weak positive association between aspiration and achievement, with the magnitude of the relationship varying significantly by level of aspiration and the type of occupational attainment. They concluded that "adolescent aspirations are not good predictors of long-run attainment, but that they do play a directional role."

As alluded to earlier, one has difficulty interpreting levels of occupational aspiration expressed by girls in high school since the gap between fancy and intention is not easily bridged. A longitudinal study of the same group or cohort would be the ideal way of substantiating whether aspirations represent marital hopes or intentions of employment. At best, the present use of level of occupational aspiration can provide information on directional tendencies.

In a study of Mexican American males and females, Wright (1968) found that both sexes aspired to the same level of occupational aspiration, with males preferring "skilled" jobs and females "clerical and sales" positions. Wright inferred that Mexican American females now perceive that it is legitimate to compete with males and each other on the labor market. The fact that females showed relatively high levels of aspiration does not necessarily mean that they desired to give up their typical roles as mothers and homemakers; an alternative explanation is

that the girls perceived their employment as assisting their future husbands with additional income.

In line with the above discussion, Wrong (1965, 89) believes that,

> ...people are more likely to become discontented and adopt innovating forms of behavior when their material circumstances have somewhat improved with the result that their aspirations have also risen to the point where their 'reach exceeds their grasp'.

This sense of relative deprivation may be important as an impetus to social and economic change here. As the Mexican American females become more aware of the educational and occupational opportunities available to them, they may raise their aspirational levels accordingly and attempt to rectify what they perceive to be their status relative to the Anglo women.

It is commonly accepted that the family is the most important agency for the socialization of the child. Paulsen (1967) believes that the nuclear family is also crucial in the development of career commitment, both as to forming the desire for a career and in the specific occupation chosen. Discounting the influences of peer group and the mass media in influencing to any great degree occupational decisions, Paulsen found that primary relationships were relied upon most heavily for advice in making occupational plans among her sample of female high school seniors.

Endicott (1931) found that girls are more frequently influenced by suggestions from parents than are boys, but that parental influence tends to diminish from a peak in junior high school to a low in senior high school. Longitudinal research is again called for to determine at what point occupational aspirations crystallize for women, and how stable such aspirations remain once they have been decided upon.

Today's society seems to be relaxing its traditional structural barriers to educational and occupational advancement by minorities, thereby placing a greater share of the responsibility for achievement on the individual or his group rather than solely on the limitations of the social system. It remains to be seen whether the Mexican Americans do in fact differ significantly from their Anglo peers with respect to socio-economic status, their attitudes toward controlling their destinies, the proportionate amount of time to be devoted to homemaking and employment, and their aspirations for occupational prestige (and presumedly, accompanying life styles).

Hypotheses

(1) Mexican American female students differ from Anglo female students with respect to socio-economic status.

(2) Mexican American female students differ from Anglo female students with respect to world view.

(3) Mexican American female students differ from Anglo female students with respect to homemaking-work orientation.

(4) Mexican American female students differ from Anglo female students with respect to level of occupational aspiration.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This thesis is an outgrowth of a more extensive research project entitled "Ethnic Differences in Occupational Aspiration" conducted by Professor Emmit F. Sharp and sponsored by the Faculty Improvement Committee at Colorado State University. The objective of the encompassing project is to examine the ethnic differences in occupational aspirations, together with related structural and attitudinal factors believed to impinge on levels of occupational aspiration manifest by male and female high school students from selected counties in southern Colorado. One purpose of this thesis is to support the more inclusive research by considering additional socio-cultural aspects of occupational orientation, but only insofar as they relate to females.

Source and Collection of Data

The initial sample consisted of 1,290 males and females from the eleventh and twelfth grades representing eleven high schools purposively selected from seven Colorado counties. The study was carried out during the spring of 1970, and included Alamosa, Conejos, Costilla, Huerfano, Las Animas, Otero and Saguache counties. Each school was in turn selected because of the relatively high proportion of Mexican American students enrolled. A total of twenty-one schools were asked to participate, but only those in Table 1 were able to accept due to scheduling difficulties, administrative problems, and miscellaneous reasons at ten of the schools.

TABLE 1

CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPATING SCHOOLS

School	County	Grades	Sample*	% Mexican American**
Aguilar	Las Animas	9-12	39	--
Alamosa	Alamosa	10-12	250	25
Antonito	Conejos	9-12	--	--
Centauri	Conejos	8-12	150	53
Centennial	Costilla	10-12	--	73
Mountain Valley	Saguache	7-12	--	32
Primero	Las Animas	7-12	70	--
Rocky Ford	Otero	9-12	200	22
Sierra Grande	Costilla	9-12	--	--
Trinidad	Las Animas	9-12	250	37
Walsenburg	Huerfano	9-12	200	46

* approximated
** 1960
-- unavailable

Of the initial sample, 655 were female. Following the removal of incomplete or otherwise unusable questionnaires, the final N was reduced to 339 females of which 177 were Anglo and 162 Mexican American.

The data were collected by group-administered questionnaires under the supervision of trained graduate students.

All of the participating counties may be characterized as socially and economically depressed, with a seasonal agricultural base and chronic out-migration and poverty.

The Interview Schedule

A first draft of the field schedule was prepared and administered to a number of Anglo and Mexican American high school students at Fort Collins High School in Fort Collins, Colorado during the early spring term of 1970. At this time, revisions were made on the basis of queries by

participating students and comments offered by faculty members of the Sociology Department. A final 26-page questionnaire was then constructed and administered to the research population.

Written instructions printed on the face sheets were read aloud at the start of each session and questions were answered. The total time for the administration was about one hour, or the length of one class period. In instances where a student was unable to complete his copy in the allotted time, he was permitted additional time to do so. Emphasis was on completeness rather than speediness of response.

DEFINITION OF VARIABLES

Ethnic Identity

Of course, it was necessary to be able to separate the respondents into Anglo and Mexican American ethnic groups. In this thesis, ethnic identity is defined as the membership in a common cultural tradition of a group of persons who share the same collective and nominal identity. The Mexican American ethnic group was determined through a comparison of each respondent's surname with a list of Spanish American surnames published by the United States Census Bureau. Those who were not in this category were placed in the Anglo ethnic group.

Socio-Economic Status (or Father's Occupational Prestige)

The socio-economic status of each respondent is actually the prestige value of her father's occupational level. It is based on the Haller and Miller Occupational Aspirations Scale (OAS) and ranges between a low value of "1" through the highest attainable prestige value of "9".

World View

World view is defined in terms of Shannon's conceptualization consisting of "a person's perception of his own manipulative power versus the organization of the society or some more powerful determinant, his time perspective as oriented toward the present versus the future, and his hierarchy of values that places individual achievement against ties to the group." The questions by which world view was operationalized are presented in the Appendix.

While it was intended to use Shannon's World View Scale as originally designed as a seven-item Guttman scale, repeated and unresolved difficulty with the computer program prevented this and necessitated revision of the format of the scale.

Each respondent was presented the seven-item scale and asked to specify the strength of his agreement or disagreement with each item. Responses ranged from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree", and were weighted "5" for strongly agree, "4" for agree, "3" for undecided, "2" for disagree, and "1" for strongly disagree.

The computer output presented a summed score over all of the items for each respondent; thus, if a respondent strongly agreed with all statements, he received a score of "35" (7 items x 5 points), or if he strongly disagreed with all seven, he received a "7". Combinations of these weighted responses therefore ranged from "7" to "35".

Due to program difficulties, the Guttman format was not used and the scale was converted to a Likert scale with the scores representing each respondent's "activity" or "passivity". The new use dichotomized the range of scores at the median, and each respondent was then rated as

"active" or "less active" on the basis of whether his score fell above or below the median.

Homemaking-Work Orientation

Homemaking-work orientation is defined as the relative amounts of time each respondent wished to devote to homemaking in contrast to employment outside the home. The questions by which this was operationalized are presented in the Appendix.

Levels of Occupational Aspiration

Level of occupational aspiration is defined as the respondent's occupational choice compared with the Combined Occupational Prestige Scale developed by LaMar T. Empey. It ranges from a low prestige value of "1" through a high value of "9" as does the Haller and Miller OAS scale; the Empey scale was used because it appeared to include fewer sex-linked occupations than the Haller and Miller scale.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA

This chapter presents the results of the statistical manipulations of the data insofar as they pertain to the hypothesis recapitulated below.

I. Mexican American female students differ from Anglo female students with respect to socio-economic status.

Table 2 provides a summary of the distribution of the aggregate's socio-economic status scores and a breakdown by ethnic group by SES:

TABLE 2

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY ETHNIC GROUP AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Score		Anglos		Mexican American		Total	
		no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
1	low	11	6.2	42	25.9	53	15.6
2		10	5.6	22	13.6	32	9.4
3		33	18.6	27	16.7	60	17.7
4		51	28.8	38	23.5	89	26.3
5		28	15.8	13	8.0	41	12.1
6		18	10.2	9	5.6	27	8.0
7		12	6.8	2	1.2	14	4.1
8		8	4.5	3	1.9	11	3.2
9	high	6	3.4	6	3.7	12	3.5
TOTAL		177		162		339	100

If the distribution of SES scores is divided into three groups representing low, middle, and high scores, the contrast between the Anglos and the Mexican Americans in the sample becomes more apparent. In Table 3,

the SES scores have been broken down as follows: scores 1-3 (low), scores 4-6 (middle), and scores 7-9 (high).

TABLE 3

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY ETHNIC GROUP AND GROUPED SES SCORES

Score		Anglos		Mexican American		Total	
		no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
1		11		42		53	
2	low	10	31	22	57	32	42
3		33		27		60	
4		51		38		89	
5	middle	28	55	13	37	41	46
6		18		9		27	
7		12		2		14	
8	high	8	14	3	6	11	12
9		6		6		12	
TOTAL		177		162		339	100

$x^2 = 42.5$
df = 8
$p < .110$

The chi-square statistic allowed rejection of the null hypothesis and acceptance of the research hypothesis with respect to socio-economic differences between the two ethnic groups. The direction of the relationship was congruent with that suggested by the theory.

Looking at Table 3, it is apparent that the two groups differed significantly by socio-economic status. Fifty-seven per cent of the Mexican American sample were found in the lowest third of the status score distribution, while 31 per cent of the Anglos were included here.

The bulk of the Anglos, or 55 per cent, fell into the middle third of the scale, whereas 37 per cent of the Mexican Americans were found in the same region.

While the upper-most third of the scale contained the smallest percentage of both ethnic groups, the Anglo representation (14 per cent) was more than twice that of the Mexican American group (6 per cent).

The Mexican Americans sampled were significantly lower in socio-economic status than the Anglos. We are therefore able to characterize the Mexican American females as being generally lower in status, while the Anglos represented the middle status grouping on the scale used. This finding has been shown elsewhere in the literature.

II. Mexican American female students differ from Anglo female students with respect to world view.

Table 4 presents the distribution of world view scores for both the aggregate and for each ethnic group. It is followed by a chi-square test which permitted rejection of the null hypothesis regarding differences between the two groups:

TABLE 4

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY ETHNIC GROUP AND WORLD VIEW SCORE

Score	Anglos		Mexican Americans		Total	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Active	111	63	74	46	185	55
Less Active	66	37	88	54	154	45
TOTAL	177		162		339	100

$x^2 = 9.90$
df = 1
$p < .01$

Approximately 63 per cent of the Anglos scored "active" in their world views, while about 46 per cent of the Mexican Americans scored the same. Therefore, roughly 37 per cent of the Anglos were designated "less active", while the majority of the Mexican Americans (54 per cent) were classified here.

On the basis of the stereotype which has depicted the Mexican American as more passive in his daily life and outlook than the Anglo, the characterization appears to be valid. However, when we control for socio-economic status (see Table 5), the statistical significance of the difference between the ethnic groups disappears in the lower and the upper status groupings. The only group for which there remains a statistically significant difference is the middle status region of the scale:

TABLE 5

SUMMARY TABLE: WORLD VIEW CONTROLLING SES

SES Group	x^2	df	Significance	Phi Coefficient
Low	.83393	3	Not significant	.005
Middle	10.74207	3	$p < .05$	.068
High	2.05944	3	Not significant	.055

N = 339

I have taken the advantage of the additive property of the chi-square statistic. The separate chi-squares and degrees of freedom for each control are added and the summed figures of the chi-squares and the degrees of freedom are used to test for significance for each grouping of SES scores. Thus, the chi-square for the "low" SES grouping is that

calculated by adding the chi-squares (and the degrees of freedom) for statuses 1-3, that for the "middle" by adding statuses 4-6, and for the "high" SES grouping, the chi-squares of 7-9.

Socio-economic status accounts for much of the variance between the Anglos and the Mexican Americans with respect to world view; the fact that most of the Mexican Americans were members of the lower status grouping while the Anglos were members of the middle group suggests that socio-economic factors rather than ethnic factors may account for the relative activity of the respondents.

Why the middle grouping differed from either the lower or the upper status grouping with respect to world view is difficult to explain. The first explanation that occurs is that there is in fact no difference, and that the statistical difference is actually an artifact of the crudeness of the scale. If we accept the explanation that world view does not differ significantly between the Anglos and the Mexican Americans in the lower and upper SES groupings, we must ask why the middle SES grouping is problematic. What is there about middle status Anglos and Mexican Americans that leads to a statistically significant difference in world view?

Although it is tempting to do so, it would be misleading to assume homogeneity among the membership of the middle status grouping. Especially when SES has been defined by a single factor (prestige of fathers' occupation) as has been done here, difficulties in interpretation are to be expected. A multiple factor indicator consisting of prestige, income, educational attainment, and other relevant variables would permit us to construct gradients within particular status groupings which would more accurately reflect sub-group differences. Both

ethnic groups, as members of the middle status grouping, constitute heterogeneous populations or admixtures of the upwardly mobile who have recently "arrived", persons who have slipped from the upper grouping, those who have relatively high incomes but low prestige occupations (e.g., truck drivers), and others who may subscribe to "less appropriate" attitudes and values. The within-group differences must be considerable, and instances where congruence of attitude and behavior occur may be largely fortuitous.

Regarding world view, it is not unlikely that our socio-economic groupings are too gross to permit desirable comparisons between the two ethnic groups. The members of the ethnic group were shown to differ only within the middle status grouping, and although we have defined the middle grouping as being homogeneous, we know that it is not so. What we may have here is the consequence of imposing an unrealistic commonality on the middle status grouping of the Anglo and Mexican American respondents. The groups may differ in some respects, and agree in others; it is probable that the middle status experience varies within each ethnic group, and between them as well.

From the statistical vantage point, it has been shown that the middle status Anglos were more active than their Mexican American counterparts. More research is needed to clarify the actual differences suggested.

III. Mexican American female students differ from Anglo female students with respect to homemaking-work orientation.

Table 6 presents a summary of the distribution of homemaking-work orientations indicated by the respondents:

TABLE 6

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY ETHNIC GROUP AND HOMEMAKING-WORK ORIENTATION

Orientation	Anglos		Mexican American		Total	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Homemaking, no employment	33	18.6	13	8.0	46	13.6
Homemaking, some employment	62	35.0	46	28.4	108	31.9
Homemaking, much employment	36	20.3	23	14.2	59	17.4
Employment, much homemaking	36	20.3	51	31.5	87	25.7
Employment, less homemaking	3	1.7	13	8.0	16	4.7
Employment, no homemaking	7	4.0	16	9.9	23	6.8
TOTAL	177		162		339	100

$x^2 = 25.68$
$df = 5$
$p < .001$

Looking at Table 6, we can make the following statements:

1) Approximately 74 per cent of the Anglo respondents designated "homemaking" as their major intention, while 51 per cent of the Mexican Americans did likewise.

2) Twenty-six per cent of the Anglos chose to emphasize "employment" outside the home, while about 49 per cent of the Mexican Americans responded the same.

3) Within the Anglos, the most frequently chosen response was that of homemaking with occasional or part-time employment; within the Mexican American group, the corresponding selection was that of employment as their major interest, with homemaking also desired.

The chi-square permitted rejection of the null hypothesis and acceptance of the research hypothesis with respect to homemaking-work differences between the two ethnic groups.

If we turn now to Table 7, controlling for socio-economic status negates inter-group differences which had been statistically significant in Table 6 except for respondents in the lowest status grouping. The same grouping convention used in Table 3 has been applied here to better illustrate the differences by increasing the numbers in each cell:

TABLE 7

SUMMARY TABLE: HOMEMAKING-WORK ORIENTATION CONTROLLING SES

SES Group	x^2	df	Significance	Phi Coefficient
Low	29.99073	14	p .05	.206
Middle	18.39011	15	Not significant	.117
High	11.70833	12	Not significant	.316

N = 339

We are again asked to explain the inconsistency; why does the lowest SES group differ from the other two? It is reasonable to believe that the same argument applies that was used in the discussion of world view. Membership in the lower grouping is not necessarily homogenizing with respect to attitudes and values. The lower status Anglos desired a

different style of life than did the lower status Mexican Americans; the Anglos sought an emphasis on homemaking, while the Mexican Americans sought employment outside the home as the focus of their lives. This is an especially interesting finding, since it is opposite to the direction predicted by the theoretical literature. Many of these young women, whom the literature suggests are being reared "for the home", are planning to leave the home and to seek employment. We have been led to believe that the Mexican American family socializes its females into passive, domestic roles, and that employment is reserved for the liberated Anglo woman. The validity of this stereotype should be questioned; clearly a number of Mexican American females plan to spend much of their adult lives in gainful employment. This suggests a realistic component borne of chronic poverty. Mexican American females may view employment as a means by which they can secure better and more productive lives for themselves and their families. It may be necessary that they work, either to support themselves or to supplement the incomes of their potential husbands.

It is interesting to observe that when one controls SES, the two ethnic groups vary only slightly with respect to homemaking-work orientation. It must also be noted that the crudeness of the SES scale may not allow us to determine the answers to the questions asked, and information is lost when broad and imprecise categories are used.

IV. Mexican American female students differ from Anglo female students with respect to level of occupational aspiration.

Table 8 presents the findings regarding the distribution of occupational aspiration scores for the aggregate and for each ethnic group. Again, a better understanding of the differences observed is obtained if the distribution of scores is broken down into the same categories

used to clarify socio-economic status. This is done in Table 9 which follows the presentation of Table 8.

TABLE 8

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY ETHNIC GROUP AND LEVEL OF OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION

Score		Anglos		Mexican Americans		Total	
		no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
1	low	4	2.3	5	3.1	9	2.7
2		21	11.9	14	8.6	35	10.3
3		8	4.5	14	8.6	22	6.5
4		23	13.0	32	19.8	55	16.2
5		11	6.2	17	10.5	28	8.3
6		52	29.4	37	22.8	89	26.3
7		36	20.3	34	21.0	70	20.6
8		9	5.1	2	1.2	11	3.2
9	high	13	7.3	7	4.3	20	5.9
TOTAL		177		162		339	100

TABLE 9

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY ETHNIC GROUP AND GROUPED LEVEL OF OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION SCORES

Grouped LOA Score		Anglos		Mexican Americans		Total	
		no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
1		4		5		9	
2	low	21	19	14	20	35	20
3		8		14		22	
4		23		32		55	
5	middle	11	49	17	53	28	50
6		52		37		89	
7		36		34		70	
8	high	9	33	2	27	11	30
9		13		7		20	
TOTAL		177		162		339	100

$x^2 = 14.11$
df = 8
Not significant

The chi-square did not permit rejection of the null hypothesis in favor of the research hypothesis regarding differences in levels of occupational aspiration. In fact, the Anglos and Mexican Americans were remarkably similar in their levels of aspiration. Controlling for socio-economic status (Table 10, below), the relationship, of course, remains:

TABLE 10

SUMMARY TABLE: LEVEL OF OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION CONTROLLING SES

SES Group	x^2	df	Significance	Phi Coefficient
Low	25.46764	23	Not significant	.175
Middle	13.62087	23	Not significant	.086
High	17.61805	13	Not significant	.476

N = 339

The following generalizations can be made (see Table 9):

1) The smallest percentage of both ethnic groups aspired to the lowest third of the aspiration scale.

2) The overwhelming majority of both groups aspired to the middle grouping of aspiration levels.

3) The percentage of respondents from both ethnic groups aspiring to the uppermost third of the scale was approximately 30 per cent.

We must remember that the Mexican Americans in the sample came from the lower third of our status scale in general, and that the Anglos were largely middle status. It is significant that the aspirations of the two groups coincided so closely, and such a finding lends credence to the universality of the achievement ethic. Apparently, neither socio-economic status nor ethnic factors have differentially affected the levels of aspiration possessed by these girls. In spite of different cultural heritages and economic disparity, both ethnic groups appear to be seeking similar occupational challenges and rewards.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Socio-economic Status

The two ethnic groups have been shown to differ in terms of socio-economic status as measured by the occupational prestige scores of the respondents' fathers. The majority of the Mexican American group came from the lowest third of the status scale, while most of the Anglos in the sample came from the middle group. As expected, the smallest proportions of both ethnic groups were found in the top third of the SES scale, although the proportion of Anglos in this category was double that of the Mexican Americans.

The crudeness of the indicator of socio-economic status has already been emphasized, and correlations based upon it are subject to error. The categories (low, middle, high), while conceptually uniform and consistent, are in fact heterogeneous.

The literature tends to corroborate the socio-economic distinctions found in this thesis, but we must qualify our results with the knowledge that differences may have been created or missed entirely as an artifact of the methods used. There were many possible sources of error in determining the socio-economic status of the respondents: e.g., incorrect or inaccurate statements of fathers' occupations, imprecise classification by coders of the occupations according to the scales used, and the possibility that a multiple-factor indicator of socio-economic status is required to accurately categorize sub-populations are some of the sources of bias.

Bearing the above in mind, it is suggested that the two groups show a statistically significant difference in socio-economic status with the Mexican American group being generally lower in SES than the Anglo group.

World View

Turning now to world view, it has been acknowledged that the scale probably bears only a rough approximation to the actual world views shared by the respondents; we find that the Anglo group differed significantly from the Mexican Americans and were classified as generally more "active". This is particularly difficult to interpret and more research is required to refine the true differences between the ethnic groups that in fact exist. Suffice it to say over half of the Mexican Americans scored in the less active category, thereby failing to contradict the stereotype which postulates greater passivity within the Mexican American culture than is found in the Anglo culture. However, Valentine's words of caution are worthy of mention here.

> Every culture both influences and reflects the world view of those who live by its rules. World views consist of shared perceptions informed by values. Yet the relationship of any world view to experience and to behavior is complex, subtle, and many-sided. It may well be true that 'all values are situationally anchored', and it is certainly true that circumstances often demand that values be compromised or contradicted by situational adaptations...Nevertheless, it seems probable that opportunities to choose goals, in accordance with value priorities or otherwise, are objectively narrowed when life chances in general are reduced by the structure of society (1970, 8.)

The issues Valentine defines appear to be valid, for when socio-economic status is controlled the statistically significant differences between the two groups disappear, with the exception of the middle status grouping. The socio-economic situational context therefore seems a likely explanation for the differences in world view attributed to the

respondents. If the Mexican Americans do represent the lower status experience in terms of attitudes, values, and general societal orientations, and the Anglos are representative of the middle status pattern, then such crucial distinctions must carry over into other aspects of each group's profile; when social class differences are negated, other things being equal, the two groups more closely resemble one another.

On the other hand, we have seen that the difference in world view persists for members of the middle status grouping of both ethnic groups in spite of SES. This lack of consistency is a problem which suggests the need for further research. Is there something unique about the middle status which permits the differentiation of world view solely by ethnic group identification? Why have the middle status Mexican Americans been shown to be less active than their middle status Anglo counterparts? Is this difference the result of the methodology, and if so, then why do the lower class and the upper class members of both ethnic groups not show this?

Sheldon (Samora, 1969: 125-157) writes of the Mexican American community in the Southwest as "the emerging middle class". He observes,

> Social class differences are becoming increasingly significant as more and more Mexican-Americans achieve higher levels of education and move up the socio-economic ladder without changing their identity...

He believes that immigrants from Mexico and their descendents have until recently been members of the lower class, but that a new middle class is emerging, one which is heterogeneous, urban, and in conflict with itself and its new identity. In many instances it is tied to some of the older values of their Mexican heritage such as individualism, machismo, loyalty to the extended family, and the double-standard with respect to male and female roles. Sheldon (p. 128) concludes that "these and other

traditional values in opposition to the mores of the Anglo-urban society place the Mexican-American at a disadvantage. They also create value conflicts in the upwardly mobile middle class." In this sense, our data seem to suggest that the middle status Mexican American is somewhat less "active" or independent and self-deterministic than the Anglo member of the middle status group. This may be due to the newness of the middle status role for the Mexican American, where the traditional values have not been fully abandoned and serve to create a more passive profile than that found among the Anglos. This is further complicated by the sex of the respondents, since the middle status Mexican American female may have significantly different socializing and everyday experiences than her Anglo peers, while still remaining a nominal member of the middle status group. Differences in socialization and perspective may not be manifest to the same extent in the lower and the upper socio-economic groups because of the clearer qualitative nature of such extreme levels of living and life styles. This is offered as a hypothesis to explain why the world view distinction dissolved in the lower and upper statuses while persisting in the more heterogeneous middle status group.

Homemaking-work Orientation

If we consider homemaking-work orientation, we find that the Anglos tended to cluster around homemaking as their emphasis, although most of the Anglo respondents sought employment as well. The Mexican American group was almost equally divided between homemaking and employment with regard to preference. This suggests that the Mexican American females are somewhat more interested in employment than their Anglo friends, although the reason for this may be difficult to determine. A possible explanation is that the Mexican American girls are being

realistic in facing up to their socio-economic disadvantage (having been shown to be of lower socio-economic status than the Anglos) and recognizing that their income will be needed to supplement their future husbands' salaries. Since the Anglo group starts from a higher base-line on the socio-economic ladder, perhaps the Anglo girls do not feel compelled to emphasize employment to the extent that the Mexican American respondents seem to show. It is also possible that the motives behind seeking employment differ between the two groups; while one group may view employment as an economic necessity for subsistence, the other may see it as an avenue to self-fulfillment or to integration within another group in which membership is desired. Unfortunately, we can only speculate, since motives for employment are not available from the questions asked of the respondents. Irrespective of the respondents' motives, the employment outlook in most of their communities is discouraging, and the best many of the girls can hope for are clerical and service positions unless they are willing to obtain further education and training and to migrate to Colorado Springs, Pueblo, Denver, or other more heavily industrialized areas outside their communities or state.

It is significant that the homemaking-work orientations closely resemble one another when we control for socio-economic status. The fact that a statistically significant difference in orientation remains between the two ethnic groups in the lower class suggests that there is a qualitative difference within the lower class Mexican Americans. To them, employment is emphasized in contrast to homemaking, while the opposite characterizes the lower class Anglos. This question needs further investigation, since it openly contradicts the stereotype of the domesticated Mexican American female; in this sense, she may be more realistic than

her Anglo classmate, recognizing that only through employment is she and her family likely to increase their well-being, comfort, and social mobility.

It should be noted that the two ethnic groups were similar with respect to the proportionate amount of time each group of respondents sought to devote to homemaking versus employment outside the home, once the effects of social class were removed.

Level of Occupational Aspiration

Perhaps the most interesting finding involves the unusual similarity between the two groups in terms of levels of occupational aspiration. In the United States, one of the prime facts of life is that through employment and income doors are opened to prestige, a desirable life style, and many amenities which provide health, security, and contentment. It was hypothesized that the Anglo girls differed from their Mexican American counterparts, in part because of the opportunity structure and also because of different patterns of socialization in the home.

The aggregate group of respondents tended to prefer the middle third of the occupational prestige range, while about one third of the total respondents aspired to the upper-most third of the scale. Twenty per cent of the aggregate aspired to the lowest third of the scale.

Approximately the same proportion of Anglos and Mexican Americans aspired to the lowest third of the scale, while more Anglos than Mexican Americans aspired to the top-most third. Slightly more than half of the Mexican Americans aspired to the middle third of the scale, and about half of the Anglos aspired to this level as well. About thirty per cent of both groups aspired to the upper-most level.

The Mexican American female student has been shown to be very similar to the Anglo female student in all respects but that of socio-economic status. In terms of world view, homemaking-work orientation, and in level of occupational aspiration, when the effects of social class are controlled, most differences disappear. Many of the statistical relationships are weak, and there is some question about the validity of some of them. In regard to employment, it appears that the lower status Mexican American girl is more interested in employment outside the home than is her Anglo peer; in regard to world view, the middle status Mexican American female seems to be less active than the middle status Anglo female.

This thesis leads one to conclude that Mexican American females want the same opportunities for employment as do Anglo females; while motivations may differ, it is not unreasonable to hypothesize that the Mexican Americans see employment as a means of acquiring a better life. Taken together with the fact that increasing numbers of women are entering the labor force, the potential earning and buying power of these women may be expected to increase accordingly. Occupational mobility may very well be the medium by which acculturation progresses to full absorption for as implied above, much of a group's social, economic and political impact depends upon where it is located in the stratification hierarchy.

The general levels of occupational prestige to which these girls aspire require that the girls leave their home communities in order to obtain the education and employment opportunities they desire. This would tend to distribute and Mexican Americans over a greater area, perhaps weakening some of the enclaves which they have maintained for so many years.

There is now some doubt cast upon the stereotype of the Mexican American female which portrays her as quiescent and unmotivated to change her role at home and in the larger societal context; in fact, she appears to wish to do so. The problem seems to be what Merton (1949) has described as a corollary to stratification, or "a syndrome of lofty aspirations and limited opportunities" which mediates intergenerational mobility through its impact on the formation of attitudes appropriate to success. If these girls are repeatedly frustrated and disillusioned in their quest for a better life, if their highest hopes are foiled by discrimination or the simple lack of educational and occupational opportunities, it seems logical that future aspirations will be conditioned by this obstacle. For some reason, people seem to find it easier to construct negative stereotypes out of a group's misfortune than to build positive images based upon their success. What is remarkable is that these two groups are so similar regarding their occupational aspirations, being significantly apart in socio-economic status.

Kahl (1965, 677) quotes Inkeles, who states,

> ...men's environment, as expressed in the institutional patterns they adopt or have introduced to them, shapes their experience, and through this their perceptions, attitudes and values, in standardized ways which are manifest from country to country, despite the countervailing influence of traditional cultural patterns.

Kahl notes that "Achievement orientation on the level of values is not a single dimension." If success is valued, the content of the success goal may differ significantly across class boundaries; how each defines success, the role success plays in each group's design for living, all may not resemble that viewed by the eyes of another group. Kahl concludes by offering the theoretical framework which he synthesized from the literature of achievement.

> First, goals must be defined in terms of group norms; and the means of reaching those goals must be defined in terms of the realities of the social structure. Then men who share given goals can be sorted into different categories according to their level of achievement motivation, and also their level of intelligence, in order to predict their success in meeting the defined goals. In general, it will take less motivation...to maintain an inherited status than to climb to a higher one, for all sorts of subtle advantages accrue to the fellow who is already there.

What we have found tends to conform to the above. On a small scale albeit, the Mexican American females have defined their success goals; we can infer that they must devote more time to employment than do the Anglo girls, since the Mexican Americans have a greater economic and social distance to conquer. The Anglos start much higher on the SES ladder, and thus have a comparative advantage. Ultimately, both groups appear to be seeking the same goals of occupational prestige and levels of living; what they now require are the means for achievement. Once some modicum of material success is attained, the Mexican Americans are more likely to feel that they can indulge in seeking a more equitable share in what we epitomize as our ideals - dignity, happiness, independence, and acceptance as individuals.

We can anticipate that changes in the traditional Mexican American patterns will continue to occur as employment opportunities expand for these young women. Tradition no longer appears to be the impediment it once was to Mexican American females in regard to confinement at home or job market constraints. The question remains, however, whether there will eventually be enough satisfying and lucrative positions available, either in the girls' communities or wherever they may choose to relocate.

It is important that we distinguish between economically essential employment and what is meant by a career, or in Goode's words (1963),

"a necessary and intrinsic part of (the female's) destiny." Goode (1963, 16) discounts the development of a new careermindedness among women in the United States, noting that during the past fifty years, the role of the wife and mother has remained central in importance to society. He concludes,

> Even though an increasing percentage of women in the United States are in the labor force, as in some countries of Europe, there has been over the past few decades only a very slight increase in the proportion of mothers of small children who are in the labor force, and these are predominantly in the lower income groups, where the economic pressure to work is great. Much of the recent great increase in female participation in the United States labor force has been concentrated in the older age groups. Toward the higher economic strata generally, a lower proportion of women work.

Goode's commentary is congruent with our findings with respect to ethnic and status differentials. The economic gap between the Mexican Americans (representative of the lower status) and the Anglo group (who were largely middle status) places different burdens on the Mexican Americans; the economic pressure to work is much greater. The Mexican American girls were oriented more toward employment. Conversely, as one moves up the status hierarchy where the economic pressures to work become less, we find a decreasing tendency to seek employment and a reversion to the female's traditional role as a homemaker.

Goode (20-21) postulates an increasing egalitarian trend in the Western nations in which traditional racial, ethnic, and sex barriers are weakening as a function of the needs of industrialization, or "the demand for skill wherever it may be found." The functional requirements of industrialization are further reinforced by the philosophical and ideological currents that appear to accompany it, and arguments for equality of rights and opportunities are fought and decided.

In summary, we have found that the Mexican American and Anglo female respondents closely resemble one another with respect to world view, homemaking-work orientation, and level of occupational aspiration, and that for the most part, differences were accounted for by socio-economic status differentials.

Within the population of high school girls sampled, there seems to be no empirical justification for differentiating the respondents according to the variables used by any other quality than socio-economic status.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES

Alexander, C. N., Jr., and Campbell, E. Q.
1964 "Peer Influences on Adolescent Educational Aspirations and Attainments." American Sociological Review 29 (August): 568-575.

Allen, B. J.
1964 Predictive Validity of Occupational Choice. (Unpublished Master's thesis, Colorado State University.)

Anderson, J. G., and Johnson, W. H.
1968 Sociocultural Determinants of Achievement Among Mexican-American Students. ERIC Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools. New Mexico State University (April).

Annan, J. L.
1966 Occupational Aspirations of Colorado High School Students. (Unpublished Master's thesis, Colorado State University.)

Antonovsky, A., and Lerner, M. J.
1959 "Occupational Aspirations of Lower Class Negro and White Youth." Social Problems 7 (fall): 132-138.

Bernath, E.
1956 Students' Occupational Choices, Fathers' Occupation and Occupational Wishes of Fathers for Children. (Unpublished Master's thesis, Colorado State University.)

Bert, C. V.
1967 "Educational and Occupational Aspirations and Expectations of Adolescent Girls in Florida." (Ph.D. Dissertation, The Florida State University.)

Blau, P. M., and Duncan, O.D.
1967 The American Occupational Structure. New York: Wiley.

Bordua, D. J.
1960 "Educational Aspirations and Parental Stress on College." Social Forces 38 (March): 262-269.

Bradish, D.
1969 Achievement Attitudes of Hispanos. (Ph.D. Dissertaion, Colorado State University.)

Burma, J. H.
1954 Spanish Speaking Groups in the United States. Duke University Press.

Campbell, E. Q., and Alexander, C. N., Jr.
1965 "Structural Effects and Interpersonal Relationships" American Journal of Sociology 71 (November): 284-89.

Caplan, S. W., and Ruble, R. A.
1964 "A Study of Culturally Imposed Factors on School Achievement in a Metropolitan Area." The Journal of Educational Research 58 (September): 164.

Cosby, A. G.
1969 Structural Disparity and the Level of Occupational Aspiration of Southern Youth. (Ph.D. Dissertation, Mississippi State University.)

Cowhig, J. A., Bergle, J. A., and Goldsmith, H.
1960 Orientation Toward Occupation and Residence: A Study of High School Seniors in Four Rural Counties of Michigan. East Lansing: Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station, Special Bulletin 428.

Crockett, H. J., Jr.
1966 "Psychological Origins of Mobility," Pp. 280-309, in N. J. Smelser and S. M. Lipset, (eds.), Social Structure and Mobility in Economic Development. Chicago: Aldine.

Drabeck, L.
1967 Perceived Sources of Influence Upon Occupational and Educational Expectation. Educational Research Series 8, North Carolina State University.

Duncan, O. D., Haller, A. O., and Portes, A.
1968 "Peer Influences on Aspirations: A Reinterpretation." AJS 74 (September): 119-137.

Duncan, O. D.
1961 "A Sociological Index for all Occupations." Pp. 109-138 in A. J. Reiss, Jr., (ed.) Occupations and Social Status. New York: Free Press.

Eisenstadt, S. N.
1954 The Absorption of Immigrants. (London.)

Endicott, F. S.
1931 "Factors Influencing High School Students in the Choice of a Vocation." Vocational Guidance 10 (December): 99-101.

Eugenics Quarterly
1968 "Ability and Achievement", 15 (March): 1-11.

Farber, S. M., and Wilson, R. H.
1966 The Challenge to Women. New York: Basic Books, Inc.

Flexner, E.
1959 Century of Struggle. Massachusetts: The Belknap Press Harvard University Press.

Fogel, W.
1967 Mexican Americans in Southwest Labor Markets. Mexican American Study Project, Advance Report 10, (October). Los Angeles: University of California.

Fox, R. B.
1968 The Relationship of Achievement Motivation to Sex, Achievement, Intelligence, Socioeconomic Status, and Level of Educational Aspiration for an Eighth Grade Group. (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Kentucky.)

Friedan, Betty
1963 The Feminine Mystique. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.

Geertz, C.
"Ethos, World-View and the Analysis of Sacred Symbols." In E. A. Hammel and W. S. Simmons (eds.), Man Makes Sense, Little, Brown and Company.

Gist, N. P., and Bennett, W. S. Jr.
1963 "Aspirations of Negro and White Students." Social Forces 42 (October): 40-48.

Gonzalez, N. L.
1967 The Spanish Americans of New Mexico: A Distinctive Heritage. Mexican American Study Project, Advance Report 9 (September). Los Angeles: University of California.

Goode, W. J.
1963 World Revolution and Family Patterns. (London: The Free Press of Glencoe.)

Gordon, M. M.
1964 Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford University Press.)

Grebler, L., Moore, J. W., and Guzman, R. C.
1970 The Mexican American People. New York: The Free Press.

Haller, A. O., and Miller, I. W.
1963 "The Occupational Aspiration Scale: Theory, Structure, and Correlates. East Lansing: Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 288.

Haller, A. O., and Wolff, C. E.
1962 "Personality Orientations of Farm, Village, and Urban Boys." Rural Sociology 27 (September): 275-293.

Haller, A. O., and Butterworth, C. E.
1960 "Peer Influences on Levels of Occupational and Educational Aspiration," Social Forces 38 (May): 289-295.

Haller, A. O.
1968 Rural Poverty in the United States. A Report by the President's National Advisory Committee on Rural Poverty, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Heller, C. S.
1966 Mexican American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads. New York: Random House.

Herriott, R. E.
1963 "Some Educational Determinants of Educational Aspiration." Harvard Educational Review 33 (Spring): 157-177.

Hyman, H. H.
1966 "Value Systems of Different Classes." Pp. 488-499 in R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset (eds.) Class, Status and Power. 2nd ed. New York: The Free Press.

Juarez, R. Z.
1968 Educational Status Orientations of Mexican American and American Youth in Selected Low-Income Counties of Texas. (Unpublished Master's thesis, Texas A & M University.)

Kahl, J. A.
1965 "Some Measurements of Achievement Motivation." AJS 70 (May): 669-681.

Kluckhohn, F. R., and Strodtbeck, F. L.
1961 Variations in Value Orientations. Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company.

Kluckhohn, C., et al.
1962 "Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action." In T. Parsons and E. A. Shils (eds.) Toward a General Theory of Action. New York: Harper and Row.

Kuvlesky, W. P. and Bealer, R. C.
1967 "The Relevance of Adolescents' Occupational Aspirations for Subsequent Job Attainments." Rural Sociology 32 (September): 290-301.

Kuvlesky, W. P., and Patella, V. M.
1970 Strength of Ethnic Identification and Intergenerational Mobility Aspirations Among Mexican American Youth. Paper presented at the Southwestern Sociological Association meetings, Dallas, Texas (March).

Kuvlesky, W. P., and Lever, M.
1967 Occupational Goals, Expectations, and Anticipatory Goal Deflection Experienced by Negro Girls Residing in Low-Income Rural and Urban Places. Paper presented at the Southwestern Sociological Association meetings, Dallas, Texas (March).

Kuvlesky, W. P., and Grumbles, J.
1969 A Synthetic Overview of Research on Rural Youth's Projections For Occupational and Educational Attainment: A Progress Report. Paper presented to Rural Sociological Society's Research Committee on Education and Occupational Behavior at annual meeting, San Francisco, California (August).

Kuvlesky, W. P., and Pelham, J.
1966 Occupational Status Orientations of Rural Youth and Structured Annotations and Evaluations of the Research Literature. Texas A & M University, Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, DTR 66-3 (September).

Kuvlesky, W. P., Wright, D. E., and Juarez, R.
1969 Status Projections and Ethnicity: A Comparison of Mexican American, Negro, and Anglo Youth. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Southwestern Sociological Association, New Orleans (April).

Larson, W. L., and Slocum, W. L.
1969 The Impact of Poverty on Rural Youth. Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 714. Pullman, Washington: Washington State University.

Lewis, H. M.
1949 The Woman Movement... . (Master's thesis, Phelps-Stokes Fellowship Papers 9, University of Virginia.)

Malry, L.
1968 The Educational and Occupational Aspirations of Anglo, Spanish, and Negro High School Students. (Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of New Mexico.)

Merton, R. K.
1949 Social Theory and Social Structure. New York: The Free Press: 148.

Middleton, R., and Grigg, C. M.
1959 "Rural-Urban Differences in Aspirations." Rural Sociology 24 (December): 347-354.

Miller, I. W., and Haller, A. O.
1964 "The Measurement of Level of Occupational Aspiration." Personnel and Guidance Journal 42 (January): 448-455.

Ohlendorf, G. W.
1967 Educational Goals and Expectations of Rural Youth in East Texas. Texas Youth Study Report 1, Texas A & M University (May).

Parsons, T.
1964 "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States." In (rev. ed.) Essays in Sociological Theory. New York: The Free Press.

Paulsen, D. L.
1967 The Career Commitment of Twelfth Grade Girls. (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University.)

Ramsey, G. V., Smith, B. K., and Moore, B. M.
1963 Women View Their Working World. The Hogg Foundation for Mental Health. Austin, Texas: The University of Texas.

Redfield, R.
1967 The Primitive World and its Transformations. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.

Rehberg, R. A., Schafer, W. E., and Sinclair, J.
1970 "Toward a Temporal Sequence of Adolescent Achievement Variables." ASR 35 (February): 34-48.

Robin, E. P., and Sardo, J.
1964 Attitudes and Plans of High School Students in Sedgewick County, Colorado. Colorado Agricultural Experiment Station Technical Bulletin 85.

Rosen, B. C.
1956 "The Achievement Syndrome: A Psycho-cultural Dimension of Social Stratification." ASR 21 (April): 203-211.

Rosen, B. C.
1959 "Race, Ethnicity, and the Achievement Syndrome." ASR 24 (February): 47-60.

Rubel, A. J.
1966 Across the Tracks. Austin, Texas: The University of Texas Press.

Samora, J. (Ed.)
1969 La Raza: Forgotten Americans. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

Sanders, I. T.
1966 The Community. 2nd ed. New York: The Ronald Press Company.

Sewell, W. H., Haller, A. O., and Straus, M. A.
1957 "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspiration." ASR 22 (February): 67-73.

Sewell, W. H., Haller, A. O., and Portes, A.
1969 "The Educational and Early Occupational Attainment Process." ASR 34 (February): 82-92.

Shannon, L. W.
1968 "The Study of Migrants as Members of Social Systems." In AES, the proceedings of the annual meeting of the American Ethnological Society.

Sharp, E. F., and Krsitjanson, G. A.
1966 "Manitoba High School Students and Drop Outs." Manitoba Department of Agriculture.

Slocum, W. L.
1967 Aspirations and Expectations of the Rural Poor: A Guide to Research. Agricultural Economics Report 122, USDA-ERS (October).

Slocum, W. L., and Bowles, R. T.
1968 "Attractiveness of Occupations to High School Students." Personnel and Guidance Journal (April).

Slocum, W. L.
1968 Educational Aspirations and Expectations of Students in Rural Washington High Schools. Washington Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 690. Pullman, Washington: Washington State University.

Slocum, W. L., and Empey, L. T.
1956 Occupational Planning by Young Women. Washington Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 568, State College of Washington (August).

Super, D. E.
1957 The Psychology of Careers. New York: Harper.

Super, D. E., et al.
1963 Career Development: Self-Concept Theory. College Entrance Examination Board. New York.

Thorpe, C. B.
1968 Status, Race, and Aspiration. (Ph.D. Dissertation, New School for Social Research.)

Tumin, M. M.
1967 Social Stratification. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Turner, R. H.
1964 The Social Context of Ambition: A Study of High School Seniors in Los Angeles. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company.

Ulibarri, H.
1966 "Social and Attitudinal Characteristics of Spanish-Speaking Migrant and Ex-Migrant Workers in the Southwest." Sociology and Social Research 50 (April): 361-370.

Vanlandingham, C. L.
1969 Relationships of Occupational Aspirations of Youth to Selected Social Variables in Two Mississippi Counties. (Ph.D. Dissertation, Mississippi State University).

Wallace, A. F. C.
1963 "Revitalization Movements in Development." U. N. Conference Paper.

Wilson, A. B.
1966 "Residential Segregation of Social Classes and Aspirations of High School Boys", in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds.) Class, Status, and Power 2nd ed. New York: The Free Press.

Wright, D. E., Jr.
1968 Occupational Orientations of Mexican American Youth in Selected Texas Counties. (Unpublished Master's thesis, Texas A & M University).

Wrong, D. H.
1965 Population and Society. 2nd ed. New York: Random House.

APPENDIX

INDICATORS AND SCALES

I. Ethnicity

Each respondent's surname served to designate ethnic membership.

II. Socio-economic Status (SES)

"What is your father's present occupation (be as specific as possible)?"

Responses were scored on the basis of Empey's Occupational Prestige Scale.

III. World View

1. "Not many things in life are worth the sacrifice of moving away from your family."

2. "The secret of happiness is not expecting too much and being content with what comes your way."

3. "The best job to have is one where you are part of a group all working together, even if you don't get much individual credit."

4. "Planning only makes a person unhappy, since your plans hardly work out anyway."

5. "Nowadays, with world conditions the way they are, the wise person lives for today and lets tomorrow take care of itself."

6. "Not many things in life are worth the sacrifice of moving away from your friends."

7. "When a man is born, the success he is going to have is not already in the cards; each makes his own fate."

IV. Level of Occupational Aspiration (LOA)

"What one job would you most like to have if you could do whatever you choose? (PLEASE BE AS SPECIFIC AS POSSIBLE.)"

Responses were scored on the basis of the Empey Scale.

V. Homemaking-work Expectation

"Which of the following statements best describes what you think your interests and desires will be for most of your adult life? (MARK ONLY ONE)"

(0) "Homemaking will be my major interest. I will not want to work at all after I am married."

(1) "Homemaking will be my major interest, but I will want to work occasionally or part time."

(2) "Homemaking will be my major interest, but I also want to work most of the time."

(3) "Work will be my major interest, but I will want to have a family and be a homemaker."

(4) "Work will be my major interest. I will not want to spend much effort in homemaking."

(5) "Work will be my only interest. I don't want to marry."